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FOREWORD

The authorities of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute have resolved to revive the *Journal of Oriental Research* and issue the first number of the new series—Vol. XV. No. I—on 12th September, 1945, which is the first anniversary of its foundation and the second of the passing of the founder and first editor of the Journal *Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.*

In presenting it to the public I would respectfully suggest to the lucky possessors of the first issue a re-perusal of the just and scholarly sentiments expressed by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar in his admirable Foreword. It is not possible to improve upon his appeal to Indian Scholarship or its duty towards the great tasks that await it. The Journal will be the medium through which savants will make their researches known, and its conductors will be fully repaid if they use its pages with confidence and freedom. Valuable work in literary and allied fields of study is encouraged by similar agencies in well-established centres of learning like Calcutta, Benares and Poona ; and those that are responsible for the second incarnation of the *Journal of Oriental Research* have abundant faith that it will evoke the zeal and love of learning for which the South of India has always been famous and direct them into channels of fruitful and distinguished labour.

Let us recall and give due praise to the scholars who in various capacities and degrees gathered round the banner of the illustrious man, who founded and for

14 years edited the Journal with his unequalled wisdom and width of outlook. Nor can we forget the devotion and ungrudging industry with which Messrs. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer and R. Narayanaswami Iyer maintained and nourished it through the period. From these and from fresh recruits to the service of the Journal we confidently expect a constant flow of fertilizing and enriching work.

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI,
President,
The Kuppuswami Sastri
Research Institute, Madras.

12th September, 1945.

OURSELVES

The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, was, as many of our subscribers know, started in the year 1927 under the supervision of an Editorial Board whose President was Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and of an Executive Committee, chosen from among the members of which Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer was the Managing Editor and Dr. T. R. Chintamani first and then Mr. T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T., the Manager and Correspondent. The Proprietorship of the Journal was vested in the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar and Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer. From the year 1927, the Journal was being regularly published in four parts every year till the beginning of 1942. The Journal was received well by all Scholars throughout India and was subscribed for by many of the Libraries and Universities in India and also in England, Germany and America. Many of the important Research Journals also have been kind enough to place this Journal in their exchange list. Fourteen Volumes of the Journal have thus been published. We are glad to say that the Journal had, by this time, established a reputation as one of the important Research Journals in India.

Owing to the situation created by the War in Madras in the year 1942, the printing and publication of the Journal had to be temporarily stopped. The publication of the Journal could not be resumed even in 1943 and 1944 owing to the difficulties of printing and strict paper control. Further, owing to the irreparable loss caused to the Journal by the sad demise of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, who was the moving spirit of the Journal, the activities of the Journal could not be resumed for some time more. But, after

the death of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, many of his friends decided to found a Research Institute in his name as a memorial to his services, for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities carried on in Madras with regard to the promotion and propagation of our culture. It was resolved that the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, which has now been established, should take up the publication of the Journal from the 15th Volume onwards. Many of the members of the Editorial Board are also members of the Institute. The Managing Editor of the Journal Mr. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer is now one of the Secretaries of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. The publication of the Journal is now under the supervision of a Research Committee of the Institute of which the Secretaries of the Institute are the conveners. We hope and trust that the Journal will continue its progress in future uninterrupted and will receive the encouragement and patronage of all scholars and cultured men throughout India. We also earnestly appeal to the subscribers who have been indulgent hitherto to our shortcomings and put up with the inconvenience caused by temporary stoppage of the Journal to continue to extend their help and encouragement in the same spirit that they have done in the past.

GLEANINGS FROM THE *PRAKAṬĀRTHA*

BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA.

The Sanskrit Department of the Madras University has, in recent years, published for the first time several old and important works on Indian philosophy. One of them is the *Prakaṭārtha-vivaraṇa*, edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani. It is a comparatively early commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śaṁkara, and is referred to in works like the *Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha* of Appayya Dīkṣita; but even the existence of manuscripts of this work was hardly known till a few years ago. The name of its author is not mentioned in the work; but Dr. V. Raghavan[1] of the same University has, of late, shown by means of arguments, which appear to be quite conclusive, that it should be the composition of Anubhūti Svarūpa who has commented upon other advaitic works also like the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*. His exposition of the doctrine here does not seem to possess much philosophic value; but he, now and again, makes side observations on the critics of Śaṁkara and on other commentators on his *bhāṣya*. These observations are often instructive. There are, as is well known, two main schools of advaitic thought, *viz.*, the Vivaraṇa and the Bhāmatī schools which differ in their views concerning certain more or less important details. The *Prakaṭārtha* generally follows the former and, as may be expected, finds fault with the latter, some of its worst criticisms being directed against Vācaspati, the founder of that school. The terms in which it refers to him may not always satisfy the test of what may be called literary decorum; but most of the criticisms are sound. The object of this paper is to draw attention to these criticisms, explaining them so far as necessary. We shall refer to them in the order in which they occur in the work.

(1) *Vedānta Sūtra*,[2] I. i. 28-31.

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1. See *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Silver Jubilee Number, pp. 352-68.

2. Hereafter referred to as VS. Similarly, *Bhāmatī* and *Kalpataru*, Amalānanda's gloss on it (Nirn. Sag. Edn.), are abbreviated to B. and KT. respectively.

This *adhikaraṇa* considers the third section of the Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad, which is in the form of a dialogue between Indra and King Pratardana, and speaks of Prāṇa, the individual soul[1] and Brahman, laying much the same emphasis on each one of them. After discussing in his commentary the significance of this section as a whole, Śaṁkara concludes that it is the last of the three, *viz.*, the attributeless or *nirguṇa* Brahman that forms its essential theme, and that the object of the teaching here is to impart to us a correct knowledge of it (ब्रह्मोपदेश). Before closing the commentary on the section, however, he gives a *resume* of the opinion of an older commentator, a Vṛttikāra, who also took the section as essentially concerned with Brahman, but as enjoining meditation on it as qualified by the characteristics not only of itself but also of Prāṇa and of the individual soul. From the general tenor of this *resume*, it appears that Śaṁkara, though he would naturally prefer his own interpretation, has nothing particular to say against the other view, presumably because meditation on the qualified or *saguṇa* Brahman is recognised by him also, though not as the *final* stage in the discipline for liberation. But Vācaspati criticises the view of the Vṛttikāra as involving the defect of what is described as *vākya-bheda*, and represents it as quite unacceptable to Śaṁkara. He adds that Śaṁkara does not explicitly state anything against that view, because its untenability is patent. The *Prakaṭārtha*, which does not itself criticise the view,[2] finds fault with Vācaspati for this criticism. Since Vācaspati was a very early commentator on the *bhāṣya*, he was the first, we way assume, to express disapprobation of the view in question.

Now Amalānanda refers in this context to some (केचित्) who maintained that there was no defect of the kind, pointed out above, in the other view. His reference cannot be to the *Prakaṭārtha*, for it does not contain anything like the arguments summarised here. It therefore shows that there were once other commentators also of the Vivaraṇa school, who disagreed

1. There is a prominent reference to Indra also here; but we have left that out, since he also may be reckoned as a *jīva*. See Advaitānanda's *Brahma-vidyābharaṇa*.

2. This is stated on the basis of the observation in the *Prakaṭārtha*: तदेतद्वाचस्पतेर्न रोचते, which implies disagreement.

with Vācaspati and maintained the view which we have ascribed to Śaṁkara. Strangely, however, we find that scholiasts like Ānandajñāna and Rāmānanda,[1] who belong to the same school but are later, criticise the alternative interpretation in the manner of Vācaspati. If we take this fact along with the other, *viz.*, that Vācaspati was probably the first to criticise the Vṛttikāra's view, it does not seem wrong to conclude that there is here a point in the interpretation of Śaṁkara's commentary on VS., in which Vācaspati's view has gradually come to prevail among the followers of the Vivaraṇa school.

(2) *VS.* II. iii. 41-2.

In commenting on the *bhāṣya* on this *adhikaraṇa,* the *Prakaṭārtha* states that it would be difficult for Vācaspati to reconcile its conclusion with the Advaita doctrine as he understands it.

प्रेरकत्वे परेशस्य जीवस्य भ्रान्तिकर्तृता ।
जीवभ्रान्त्या परेशस्य प्रेरकत्वं सुदुर्घटम् ॥

The criticism is too brief, but it is not difficult to see what it means. It refers to the fallacy of mutual dependence between two points in Vācaspati's view of Advaita. One of them is the conclusion of the present *adhikaraṇa,* in which Vācaspati does not differ from other followers of Śaṁkara.[2] The problem discussed here is that of free will; but it is not necessary for our purpose to enter into the details of the discussion concerning it. It will suffice to note that the freedom, which man feels by instinct, as it were, that he possesses, is here admitted; only it is added that it cannot be complete freedom, since Īśvara also has an important place in the determination of human action, as in everything else which takes place in the universe. Hence the conclusion of the *adhikaraṇa,* so far as we are at present concerned with it, is that man's feeling that he is *wholly* free is a delusion. That is, the agency (कर्तृता) of the *jīva,* in the full sense of the term, is the outcome of *bhrānti.* The other point which is inconsistent with this is Vācaspati's conception of Īśvara or, to state the same otherwise, his view of the locus of *avidyā* or Māyā which is of fundamental importance in the doctrine. All advaitins agree that the *avidyā* has

1. *Cf.* Rāmānanda's remark: इयमसंगता व्याख्या.

2. *Cf.* B. II. iii. 41: सर्वव्यापारेषु जन्तूनामीश्वरतन्त्रता.

Brahman as its object (विषय); but while the Vivaraṇa school holds that it resides in Brahman, the other school maintains that it is in the *jīva*.[1] According to the former, Īśvara is a complex of spirit and *avidyā* and exists, as we may say, by his own right so far as the empirical sphere is concerned. But according to the latter, he is a consequence of the *jīva's* fancy, somewhat like a God seen in one's dream.[2] In other words, Īśvara is *jīva-kalpita* so that he would not be there at all to guide man or to do anything else without the *jīva*, even on the level of empirical being. Now if we take this together with what was stated above, *viz*., that the *jīva's* freedom is partly illusory since it wills under the control of Īśvara, we shall see that the *jīva* is both dependent upon and, at the same time, independent of Īśvara. This is the defect of reciprocal dependence pointed out in the *Prakaṭārtha*.[3]

(3) *VS*. III. i. 1-7.

This *adhikaraṇa* is concerned with the 'doctrine of the five fires' (पञ्चाग्निविद्या), which is taught in the Chāndogya[4] and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka[5] Upaniṣads and relates to the problems of rebirth; but its details are too technical to be mentioned here. We shall therefore refer to it only briefly and in general

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1. See stanzas at the end of KT. on II. i. 19 and 33, and *cf*. *Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha*, p. 65. (Kumbhakonam Edn.).

2. The world does not thereby become a mere figment of the *jīva's* imagination, since there is (empirically speaking) an objective ground for it, *viz*. Brahman as there is an objective basis, *viz*. 'shell' for the illusory 'silver'. *Cf*. KT. अधिष्ठानं हि ब्रह्म, न जीवाः. (p. 404). It would therefore be more correct to say that ईश्वरत्व is जीवकल्पित.

3. KT. which usually refers to the *Prakaṭārtha* criticisms of Vācaspati and tries to meet them, is silent here, although it makes passing references to it elsewhere (see pp. 404 and 482). But Vācaspati himself, anticipating such a criticism of his conception of Īśvara furnishes a brief reply under I. iv. 3 (p. 378). He there represents Brahman not only as the *viṣaya* of *avidyā* but also as the *nimitta* of the latter manifesting itself as the world—a view which, in so far as it makes Brahman the *nimitta-kāraṇa*, appears to materially change his original idea of Īśvara.

4. V. iii—x.

5. VI. ii.

terms. Śaṁkara explains the *vidyā* here not as intended to set forth the course of the departed soul before it incarnates again, but as a meditation meant to advance the disciple on the way to life's goal. In explaining a certain point in the teaching, he cites[1] a parallel meditation taught in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[2] Vācaspati, however, makes no mention of this parallelism in his explanation and treats the two meditations as but one. The *Prakaṭārtha* observes that he shows here his ignorance not only of Śaṁkara's intention but also of the true import of the Brāhmaṇa text in question.[3]

This criticism does not appear to be justified. The meditations are, no doubt, separate as pointed out by nearly all the commentators; but the *bhāṣya* itself does not state it quite explicitly. It is therefore possible to say, as the *Prakaṭārtha* does, that Vācaspati missed its true meaning. But Śaṁkara discusses the same point at some length in his commentary on the corresponding portion of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad[4] and concludes that the meditations should be regarded as different. Hence to admit that the *Prakaṭārtha* criticism is right would be to admit that Vācaspati was ignorant of Śaṁkara's commentary on such an important Upaniṣad as the Bṛahadāraṇyaka. That is hardly conceivable in the case of one who undertook to interpret his *bhāṣya* on VS. Hence the explanation offered in this connection by Amalānanda, it seems, should be accepted as satisfactory. He admits the separateness of the meditations, but adds that Vācaspati's deviation from the *bhāṣya* was due, not to his ignorance but to his desire to explain Śaṁkara's statement, assuming for the sake of argument (प्रौढ्या), that the two meditations are but the same.

(4) *VS*. III. iii. 26.

This *sūtra* forms an *adhikaraṇa* by itself, and discusses the condition of the sage, who has realised the ultimate truth. But the point raised in the *Prakaṭārtha* here against Vācaspati

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1. See com. on *sūtra* 6.
2. XI. vi. 2 (Mādhyandina recension).
3. It is interesting to note that, if the text of the *Prakaṭārtha* is correctly printed here, its author wrongly ascribes to Yājñavalkya the reply which, according to the Brāhmaṇa, is given by Janaka.
4. VI. ii. 15. *Cf.* com. on Ch. Up. V. iv. 1.

does not concern the subject-matter of the *adhikaraṇa*. It relates to the way in which the compound *kuśāchhandasstut-yupagānavat*, used in the *sūtra*, is to be split up. This expression points to four parallels, found in the ritualistic portion of the Veda, in support of the conclusion reached here. There is no doubt about the form of the last two words in it. They are *stuti* and *upagāna*. The first two are *kuśā* (fem.) and *chandas* according to commentators in general, and this division appears to have the support of Śaṁkara.[1] But Vācaspati takes the words to be *kuśa* (masc. or neut.) and *ācchandas*, explaining latter as a variant of *chandas*. The *Prakaṭārtha* remarks that he is forced to this wrong splitting of the compound owing to his ignorance of the fact that, though *kuśa* may be only masculine or neuter in form when it means 'sacred grass', it is femine when it means, as here, 'sacrificial fuel' (समित्). Amalānanda tries to defend Vācaspati against this criticism; but, for doing so, he has to lean upon the relatively slender support of Amarasimha,[2] while the *Prakaṭārtha* has the authority of Pāṇini behind it.[3]

(5) *VS*. III. iv. 47.

There is an explicit injunction in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (III. v) regarding *manana*[4] or reflection upon the ultimate truth of Vedānta, that relating to *śravaṇa*, which precedes it, being taken for granted. The question discussed here is whether the succeeding stage also of the discipline for attaining Brahma-knowledge, *viz*. meditation (ध्यान) in reference to which no injunctive term is used in the Upaniṣad, is or is not similarly enjoined. The conclusion reached by Śaṁkara is that it too is to be taken as enjoined; and Vācaspati expresses the same view in his B. The *Prakaṭārtha* points out that in doing so he contradicts himself for, in an earlier portion of the work[5],

1. *Cf*. आदुम्बर्यः used in the *bhāṣya* in grammatical agreement with कुशाः. Amalānanda states that Śaṁkara here is merely echoing a Vedic peculiarity (अनुकारमात्रम्).

2. अस्त्री कुशं कुथो दर्भः (I. iv. 166).

3. See IV. i. 42. *Cf*. also VIII. iii. 46.

4. बाल्येन तिष्ठासेत्.

5. I. i. 4. pp. 129 and 153, and *cf*. KT:

साक्षात्कारो हि दृष्टं फलं, तादर्थ्यं मननादेर्वदन् भाष्यकारो विधिं न मृष्यते। (P. 152).

he has denied injunction in respect of all the *three* stages of the discipline, beginning with *śravaṇa*. It adds that in thus denying there what constitutes the essential duty of the *saṁnyāsin*, Vācaspati virtually discountenances the fourth *āśrama* and thereby deprives the Vedānta *śāstra* of its proper *adhikārin*. This is probably to overstate the case against Vācaspati, since the criticism assumes that there is complete agreement among the advaitins in this regard while, as a matter of fact, they differ a good deal from one another.[1] But, however that may be, it is clear that Vācaspati does lay himself open to the charge of inconsistency here. Amalānanda attempts to explain it in two ways. First, he points out that the injunction denied earlier in B. is of the *apūrva* type, and that the one admitted here is of the *niyama* type, so that the contradiction involved is merely apparent.[2] The second explanation is that neither Vācaspati nor Śaṁkara recognises any injunction here, and that there is accordingly no contradiction at all.

अथवा पाण्डित्यादिशब्दान्तरादप्राप्तिरपूर्वत्वम् । विधित्वं चार्थवादस्यैव सतो वाक्यस्य प्रशंसाद्वारेण प्रवृत्त्यतिशयकरत्वम् ॥ (KT. p. 919)

This attempt of Amalānanda cannot be regarded as successful, for both the explanations clearly strain the words, used by Śaṁkara and Vācaspati, viz. *apūrvatvāt* and *vidhīyate*, too much.

(6) *VS*. III. iv. 51.

The discussion here relates to the question whether, as a consequence of pursuing *śravaṇa*, *manana*, and *dhyāna*, Brahman is realised in this life or hereafter. The conclusion reached in B., as in the *bhāṣya*, is that, since the result depends upon the extent and nature of the unseen obstacles, whose removal through the performance of prescribed *karma* is necessary for it, the realisation may or may not take place in the present life. The *Prakaṭārtha* criticises Vācaspati for admitting here the possibility of Brahma-realisation being postponed to a future life, for he has previously[3] described it as having a

1. Cf. *Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha*, pp. 7-39.
2. See p. 919, and *cf. Parimala*:
एवं चाविधेयत्वमुक्तमित्यस्यापूर्वविध्यविषयत्वमुक्तमिह तु नियमविधिविषयत्वमुच्यत इति पूर्वापरविरोधपरिहारो द्रष्टव्यः ।
3. See B. pp. 114, 152-3 and 930; and *cf.* KT. श्रवणादिविधिस्त्वनिष्टः (p. 222) and *Parimala*, (p. 154). See also passage cited in note 5 on page 6 above.

dṛṣṭa-phala or being a matter of actual experience, and as not mediated by any transcendental *apūrva,* such as is presupposed by a *vidhi.* The criticism is expressed in the following stanza:

विधिसामर्थ्यमाश्रित्य वदन्नामुष्मिकं फलम् ।
श्रवणादेः कथंकारं वाक्पतिर्न च तत्रपे ॥

But the question will arise whether what is described as a *dṛṣṭaphala* should necessarily be attained in the present life. Evidently the *Prakaṭārtha* means that it should be so. But, as Amalānanda points out, that is by no means necessary. A result, which is attained in a future life, may still be a matter of actual experience, and may not be mediated by any *apūrva* in its transcendental sense. A born musician, to cite the illustration given in this connection, may directly intuit musical truths as the result (according to the *karma* doctrine) of training in the art received by him in a former birth. It is the special aptitude (संस्कार), inherited from the past, that explains this precocity and not any *apūrva,* the result of carrying out a *vidhi.*[1] The same may well be the case in respect of Brahma-realisation also. The *Prakaṭārtha* criticism of Vācaspati in this respect does not therefore appear to be justified.

(7) *VS.* IV. iv. 17-22 :

This *adhikaraṇa* relates to *mokṣa* ; and the *Prakaṭārtha* points out that, if Vācaspati's view of the locus of *avidyā*[2] is adopted, right knowledge will not lead to release in the complete sense of the term. The reason assigned for it is that, even when one *jīva* qualifies for *mokṣa,* there will be other *jīvas* and that, on account of their *avidyā,* Brahman, and consequently the released soul also, will continue to be *saguṇa.* In other words, right knowledge may result in oneness with the personal Brahman but not with the impersonal. This charge against Vācaspati would be groundless, if he subscribed to the view, held by some advaitins, of *sarva-mukti* or the belief that no one can become finally free until all are liberated;[3] but he does not seem to do so.[4] Amalānanda makes no reference to this criticism in his commentary here.

1. KT. pp. 924-5.
2. See item (2) above.
3. *Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha,* pp. 449 ff.
4. Cf. B. pp. 377-8.

DID DHRUVA ABDICATE?

BY

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The accession of Govinda III to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne has been the subject of some discussion. There is general agreement on the main facts. Dhruva had a number of sons, and Govinda was not eldest among them. Still his father was so impressed by the extraordinary abilities of Govinda that he designated him heir apparent (Yuvarāja) to the throne, a decision which roused resentment in the mind of Govinda's elder brother Kambha who, after the death of his father, organised a great rebellion against Govinda III. It is not our object here to discuss the relations of the two brothers or the political intricacies that underlay the civil war between them. The only question proposed for consideration is whether Dhruva was content with making Govinda Yuvarāja during his life-time, or as has been held by some writers, he went further and actually abdicated the throne in favour of the son of his choice. On the latter alternative we shall have to assume that although Dhruva had given up his authority as Emperor, still he retained enough prestige to act as a check during his life-time on the ambitious projects of his disappointed first son. Let us study the evidence of the inscriptions on this question.

The inscriptions of the reign of Govinda himself are fairly clear on the subject, and if they stood by themselves there would indeed be no question for discussion at all. The Maṇṇe plates A.D. 802[1] and the Rādhānpūr plates, A.D. 808 narrate the events in identical terms. The relevant verses from these records are two. They read:

yasyā-kāram amānuṣam tri-bhuvana-vyāpatti-rakṣocitam
Kṛṣṇasyeva nirīkṣya yacchati pitaryekādhipatyam bhuvaḥ|
Āstām tāta tavaitad-apratihatā dattā tvayā kaṇṭhikā
Kin-nājñeva mayā dhṛteti pitaram yuktam vaco
yo'bhyadhāt||

1. EC. IX. N1. 61.

Tasmin svarga-vibhūṣaṇāya janake yāte yaśaḥ-śeṣatām
Ekībhūya samudyatān vasumatī saṁhāram-āditsayā|
Vicchāyān sahasā vyadhatta nṛpatīn ekōpi yo dvādaśa
Khyātān-apyadhika-pratāpa-visaraiḥ saṁvartako' rkāniva||

Here we see that Govinda's father noticed the superhuman form of Govinda which like that of Krishṇa appeared capable of protecting the three worlds, and so he offered to bestow on Govinda the sole sovereignty of the world (*i.e.*) he offered to abdicate and make him monarch at once. Govinda's reply to his father, commended as very proper (yuktam vacaḥ) by the composer of the praśasti was "let the sovereignty be yours, father; have I not borne the necklace given by you as if it were a command unchallengeable?". Closely interpreted this verse means that Govinda had been installed as Yuvarāja for sometime, when Dhruva actually contemplated abdication and consulted his son. But Govinda opposed the project and begged that his father might continue to rule. The father apparently acceded to the wish. The next verse takes up the story after the demise of the father. It says that 12 mighty kings banded themselves together and sought to deprive Govinda of the kingdom. But Govinda's superior prowess spoiled their designs, and in a powerful simile the poet compares the twelve enemies of Govinda to the twelve Ādityas and Govinda himself to the 'Saṁvartaka fire' which outshines the Ādityas and destroys the universe.

It is possible that in his life-time Dhruva began to entertain suspicions of the coming struggle and made an attempt to abort it by promoting Govinda from the position of Yuvarāja to that of the Emperor himself. But that did not happen, thanks to Govinda himself, and when the anticipated struggle came on Govinda proved equal to it and came out successful.

It is notable that Govinda's elder brother Kambha, the leader of the rebellion, is not mentioned by name, and Govinda seems to have treated his brother with consideration after suppressing his rebellion, and given him back the governorship of the Gangavāḍi province as we see from the Maṇṇe plates.

Later inscriptions, particularly, those of the Guzerat branch give a slightly different account of what happened. Thus in the Surat plates of Karka Suvarṇavarṣa A.D. 821 we read:.[1]

1. EI. 21 pp. 142-3 verses 30-31=Kavi plates verse 27-28 IA. V. p. 147.

Rājyā-bhiṣeka kalaśaiḥ abhiṣicya dattām
Rājādhirāja-parameśvaratām sva-pitrā ।
Anyair-mahā nṛpatibhirbahubhis-sametya
Stambādibhir bhujabalād-avalupyamānām ॥

Ekoneka-narendra-bṛnda-sahitān yastān samastānapi
Protkhātāsi-latā-prahāra-vidhurān baddhvā mahā-samyuge ।
Lakṣmī-mapyacalām-cakāra-vilasat-saccāmara-grāhiṇīm
Samsīdad-guru-vipra-sajjana-suhṛd-bandhūpa-bhogyām bhuvi ॥

These verses obviously narrate the same events as the verses from Maṇṇe and Rādhānpūr plates cited above. The most important variation is the direct statement with which they open namely that Govinda received from his father the headship of the empire at the time of his rājyābhiṣeka. The wording of the text clearly states that the coronation of Govinda was witnessed by his father, and that the coronation was of Govinda as Emperor and not as Yuvarāja. Then follows the statement that other great kings banded themselves together under the leadership of Stambha, and sought to wrest the kingdom from Govinda, but single-handed Govinda fought against them all, and having taken them prisoners established himself firmly on the throne. The omission of Stambha's name from the Maṇṇe and Rādhānpūr plates and its express mention here are quite intelligible. Govinda evidently did not like to remind himself or his brother of their former differences after their reconciliation at the end of the war. No such consideration prevailed with the composer of the plates of the Guzerat line.

But the main question is—Was Govinda crowned Emperor during his father's life-time? Did Dhruva abdicate the throne in favour of Govinda and live for sometime after his abdication? It must be confessed that a categorical answer does not appear easy, for if we turn to the verses from the grants of the main line after our study of the verses from the later records, we cannot fail to notice a significant gap in their account. Govinda indeed told his father that he should retain the place of Emperor during his lifetime, while Govinda himself continued to be Yuvarāja, but did the father adopt the son's suggestion? There is no direct answer to this question in those

verses which, after recording Govinda's speech with appreciation, simply turn to narrate the rebellion after Dhruva's death. The Surat plates on the other hand which are less than two decades later in date state expressly that Dhruva did transfer the empire to Govinda, and witnessed the performance of his abhiṣeka as Emperor, and there is no reason to doubt the clear testimony of this record which is not contradicted by that of the records of the main line. So the best way of reconciling all the data at our disposal would be to assume that after Govinda had been Yuvarāja for sometime, Dhruva anticipated trouble from the disappointed Kambha and wanted to forestall it by making Govinda Emperor in his own right, and though Govinda opposed it, Dhruva put the plan through and did make Govinda Emperor in his own life-time. His hope of averting a civil war was fulfilled during his life-time, but the war broke out at his death as the Maṇṇe and Rādhānpūr plates distinctly affirm.

It may be noted finally that verses (6) and (7) of the Kapaḍvanj grant of Kṛṣṇa II[1] are quite neutral as between the two versions, and contain nothing to contradict the interpretation offered above.

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1. EI. I, p. 54.

THE PAYYŪR BHAṬṬAS

BY

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The great Mīmāṃsakas of the Payyūr family in Malabar must be well known by this time to all students of Sanskrit literature. The commentary on the *Sphoṭasiddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra called the *Gopālikā*[1] and the commentary on the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspati Miśra called the *Tattvavibhāvanā*[2] are already available in print. These two commentaries are by one Parameśvara, son of Ṛṣi and Gopālikā. He has also written commentaries on the *Vibhramaviveka* of Maṇḍana Miśra and on the *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* of Cidānanda. His grandfather, son of Gaurī and Ṛṣi, named Parameśvara has commented on the *Nyāyakaṇikā*; and his grandson (son of another Ṛṣi) is also a Parameśvara and has commented on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* and on the *Kāśikā* of Sucarita Miśra. Thus six generations of scholars are known in that family, as great authorities on Mīmāṃsā and as writers on the Mīmāṃsā literature. Those who have not actually written works are also spoken of as great scholars in the *Śāstra*. Besides, they were great figures in poetry also. Many *Yamaka Kāvyas* are known as works of some of these great scholars. The commentary on the *Meghadūta*, called the *Sumanoramaṇī* has also now come to light[3]. The *Sumanoromaṇī* mentions *Haricaritakāvya* as another work of the author. The contribution of these Bhaṭṭas to Mīmāṃsā literature is, both in volume and depth, worthy of adoration, and as such, it is a matter of great importance to know something more about these great scholars and their family. Parameśvara II (son of Ṛṣi and Gopālikā) says that the works of Maṇḍana Miśra had established themselves completely in that family[4].

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1. Madras University Sanskrit Series.
2. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series.
3. Adyar Library Bulletin, February 1945.
4. मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वतिष्ठन्त कृत्स्नशः । तद्वंश्येन मया ।

There is a *Sandeśa Kāvya* which throws some light on this famous family. It is called the *Cakorasandeśa*. A manuscript of it is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (No. R. 3607). There is no direct evidence to connect this poem with the Payyūr family. But there are evidences that give a fair amount of probability to the poem being the work of a member of this family. The destination at which the *Sandeśa Kāvya* ends is the temple called Vedāraṇya. Now, all the *Yamaka Kāvyas* by the members of the Payyūr family and the *Mimāṃsā* works contain references to a Vedāraṇya. There is a temple called Velaṅgāḍ near the modern family residence of these Bhaṭṭas, which is in a village called Porkalam (usually mentioned in Sanskrit as Raṇakhala) about sixteen miles to the North West of Trichur in the Cochin State. In the *Sandeśa Kāvya*, the temple is spoken of as a seat of learning.[1] The Deity in the temple is Gopālikā[2] and the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas worship the Deity in Vedāraṇya, in their works, as Gopālikā. From these references one naturally gets an impression that the Vedāraṇya of the *Sandeśa Kāvya* and the Vedāraṇya of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas are identical.

The only difficulty is that while the Vedāraṇya of the Bhaṭṭas is sixteen miles Noth West of Trichur, the Vedāraṇya of the *Sandeśa Kāvya* is much to the north of Tirunāvāy on the Ponani River, (Nilā) *i.e.*, at least twenty miles further to the north of the Vedāraṇya of the Bhaṭṭas. Tirunāvāy is about twelve miles to the north of the family residence of the Bhaṭṭas. In the *Sandeśa Kāvya* there is a description of

1. कृष्णद्वैपायनमुनिकृता भारताख्या कथा सा
देवीमाहात्म्यमपि महितं तत्पुराणान्तरं च ।
श्रीमद्रामायणवरकथा सापि वाल्मीकिगीता
श्रूयेरंस्ते श्रवणसुभगा ह्यागमाश्चापि सर्वाः ॥ 161
भूयो वेदांश्चतुर ऋषिभिर्मानुषैश्चेर्यमाणम् ॥ 162
मन्वादेर्गा श्रृणु च पदवाक्यात्मभाष्याणि टीकां
सूत्रव्रातान्यपि मुनिकृतान्युल्लसद्वार्तिकानि ।
काव्यं श्राव्यं श्रृणु च मधुरं नाटकं चापि नाना-
भूतं भूतं रमयदखिलं कालिदासादिभूतम् ॥ 162
देवी गोपाल्यपि जयतु सा (last verse)

Tirunāvāy; after that are mentioned Śvetāṭavī and a lake named Adri[1]; and Vedāraṇya comes after that.

In Calicut there is a temple called Tiru-velaṅgāḍ. I made inquiries to know if there is any evidence of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas having settled down in their present village after migrating from a more northern home. But no such tradition is available. The well-known Mīmāṃsakas lived in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century. There is evidence to show that this *Sandeśa Kāvya* is much earlier, perhaps by two centuries, than the time of the famous Bhaṭṭas.

It is not possible to settle the date of the *Sandeśa Kāvya* with any degree of certainty. It is full of information about ancient Malabar. But there is nothing that points to any definite date. In a place a few miles to the south east of the present Tripunithura (the residence of the Maharajas of Cochin) there is mention of a temple where it is not known whether it is dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu and about which there were at that time five doubts.[2] Apart from the doubt already mentioned in the verse, I am told that another doubt is whether there is a river or a lake in that place. The place is now known as Nāyattoṭṭam. Here the temple is equally important for both Śiva and Viṣṇu. The doubt about the lake or river is also known among the people of the place. In the temple of Airāṇikkulam near Cranganore, the idol of the Devi is mentioned in the *Kāvya* as occasionally found in her periods.[3] The story of how a poor Brahmin went into the temple of Kāli at dead of night at Cranganore and how the Goddess herself saved him is also mentioned.[4]

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1. नावाक्षेत्रं श्रितानिलमपि श्वेतपूर्वाटवी सा । 150
पश्येः सरसिजयुतं साद्रिसंज्ञं सरोऽग्र्यम् । 162

2. तस्मात् प्राच्यां श्रुतिविलसितं धाम शम्भोर्हरेर्वा
भूतिं बिभ्रद्विदुरिह जनाः संशयान् यत्र पञ्च । 93

3. अत्याश्चर्यं भवति किल तत्राम्बिका पुष्पयुक्ता
काले कालेऽसृगितवसना दृश्यते हन्त मर्त्यैः ॥ 162

4. अत्याश्चर्यं परमिह वयं शुश्रुमाम्बानिवासे
प्राप्तः कश्चिन्निशि कुमतिना प्रेषितः केनचित्तु ।
विप्रोऽजानन् क्षुधमपि गतः श्रान्तिमांस्तेन चोक्तः
काल्याहूता दिशति वनिता भोजनादीति साधुः ॥
प्राप्ते तस्मिन्नथ निजगृहं निरयनाप्ये मनुष्ये-
र्देवी यत्तांस्तदभिहतये स्वाञ्जनान् वारयन्ती ।

To the south of the famous Guruvāyūr temple there is a village called Pālayūr. Here the *Kāvya* mentions a Śiva temple;[1] at present there is only a Christian Church, which according to the tradition of the Church was founded by St. Thomas, the Apostle. In the Guruvāyūr temple itself, the Kâvya mentions a Śiva shrine in the southern side, along with Gaṇeśa.[2] Now there is only a Gaṇeśa shrine on the south-western corner. But even now when people worship in that shrine, they salute Śiva also, though there is no Śiva idol in shrine.

The temple of Mūkkola (known as Muktisthala in Sanskrit works) is mentioned as between the dominions of two kings, named Śaṅkara and Ārya.[3] The western side of this temple is the famous Vanneri country and the present Rajas of Punnattūr, who are supposed to be the kings of this country, have the name Goda Śaṅkara. On the eastern side of the temple is the Talappilli country; and my own family, which is supposed to be the royal family of Talappilli (also of Cittilappilli to the South of Talappilli) has the title of Ayyan (Sanskrit: Ārya).

कारुण्येता स्वयमुपगता केरलेशेन दत्ते-
नाम्रेणान्नं सहितमपि दत्त्वाभ्यरक्षत् किलेयम् ॥ 119, 120

1. गच्छेः सप्तच्छदपदयुतं भूप्रदेशं पुरःस्थं
पश्येः शर्वं सहगिरिसुतं भूतिराजत्पुरस्थम् ।
नानारत्नैर्लसितममितैर्धन्यवासोमुखैर-
प्यर्के श्रीमन्नगरवरमाभाति यस्येश्वरस्य ॥ 135.

सप्तच्छद = a tree (*pāla* in malayalam). There is no such town to the east (अर्के) of the temple now.

2. पार्श्वे चास्य द्विरदवदनं दक्षिणे देवमार्यं
चार्यां देवीं शिवदिशि च सत्संपदोदक् सरश्च । 136.

All the other features continue even now.

3. प्राप्यं देव्या निलयनमितो योजनाध्वन्यतीते
प्राच्यामीषच्छशिदिशि पुरे भूपयोरन्तराले ।
एको नाम्ना क्षितिभृदनयोः शङ्करस्त्वार्यनामा
चान्यः सार्थं किल तदुभयोर्नाम धाम्नोर्गुणानाम् ॥
याभ्यां क्षोणीभरणकरणक्लान्तिरस्तार्यकूर्म-
क्रोडात्मश्रीपतिभुजगपर्यायका (?) दिग्गजानाम् ।
भूरक्षिभ्यामनवमगुणैर्भ्रातृभिर्यौवराज्ये
सद्भिः पुत्रैरपि च सदृशैर्धर्मतः संयुताभ्याम् ॥ 143, 144.

Further to the north there is a temple called Śrī Dhī Grāma, which can be identified with Tiru Manaś Śeri. At present it is a temple that belongs to the Brahmins of the Panniyūr village, who were excommunicated for the sin of having burnt up the idol of Varāha in their temple. Later literature speaks of the sin, but in the present work there is no mention of any such sin committed by them. Thus it is likely that the *Kāvya* is prior to this event. Even Malayalam works that can be assigned to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries speak very harshly about the Brahmins of Panniyūr village for their great crime. It is possible to assign this *Sandeśa* to a time earlier than this. Thus about eleven hundred after Christ may be a safe date for this work.

If this be so, it is possible that the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas had their home much to the north, near Calicut and that they migrated at a later period to their present home. The temple at Ūragam (known as Valaya South of Trichur) is supposed to be dedicated to the Deity of Tiru-Velaṅgāḍ near Calicut. Payyūr Bhaṭṭas too might have migrated a little to the south and built a temple there for their Family Deity, Gopālikā. The name Payyūr itself seems to have been given to the family after the Deity Gopālikā (Payyūr means "Cow-village"). The Kings of Koṭṭayam in Malabar are known to have been the first patrons of Mīmāṃsā in Malabar[14]. We have no evidence about the original boundary of their country. Tiru-Velaṅgāḍ is not very far to the south from the Koṭṭayam regions and it is possible that the temple once belonged to them. If this were so, it is equally likely that the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas had their original home in their country and that they migrated to the south at a later date. Their present home is within the Talapilli country and the kings of this country were also great patrons of learning.[15] From the evidence available from this *Sandesa Kāvya*, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas had their home near Tiru-Velaṅgāḍ near Calicut and that the *Sandeśa Kāvya* is by a member of that family, when located in that region.

14 प्रत्यापत्तिः पतग यदुपज्ञं च कौमारिलानाम्
Kokila Sandeśa of Uddaṇḍa I—44.

15. See Introduction to *Mayūra Sandeśa*, Poona Oriental Series. Talappilli and Chittilapilli kings were the same; *Candrotsava* in Malayalam speaks of the king of Chittilappalli as Kalpakavṛkṣa for poets.

SEMANTIC HISTORY OF THE WORDS NĀSATYĀU AND DASRĀU.

BY

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Nāsatyāu and *dasrāu* are now considered synonymous with *aśvināu*[1]. But the following quotation from the *Bṛhaddevatānukramaṇī* by *Sāyaṇa*[2] reveals that they were not so at the time of the author of the *Anukramaṇī*.

नासत्यश्चैव दस्रश्च यौ तु तावश्विनाविति ।

This tells us that नासत्य was the name of one *āśvin* and दस्र the name of another. If that be so, it is worth trying to account for the semantic change of the words *nāsatyāu* and *dasrāu*.

It is clearly seen from literature that the full name of a person is mentioned first and later on a part of it, for the sake of brevity.[3] This is the order of the day in colloquial speech. Mostly the curtailed form gets greater currency. The same seems to be the history of the words *nāsatyāu* and *dasrāu*.

In the vedas when two devatās are invoked, the names of both of them are used in *dvandva* compounds with or without *tmesis*.[4] In such compounds both the words which form into a *dvandva* compound originally took the dual suffix of all cases and later on the former member took the suffix of the nom.

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1. Nāsatyāvaśvināu dasrāu (Amarakośa)
2. In the bhāṣya under अथर्ववेद 541, 53.
3. देवदत्तो दत्तः सत्यभामा भामा इति (महाभाष्यम् 1, 1, 1)
4. द्यावा॑पृ॒थि॒वी वि॒चर॑न्ति॒ तन्थ॑वः

(R. V. V, 63, 2)

द्यावा॑चिदस्मै पृथि॒वी न॑मेते

(*ibid*, II, 12, 13)

इन्द्रा॑ को वां॑ वरुणा सु॒म्नमा॑प स्तोमः

(*ibid*, IV, 41. 8)

voc. accu., and the latter member, the suffix of all cases.[1] Sometimes one of the two words is used with the dual suffix in the place of compounds to denote both the objects.[2] Such are called elliptic duals.

In the following Ṛks the words *nāsatyā* and *dasrā*[3] are used with tmesis:—

दस्रा युवाकवः सुता नासत्या वृक्तबर्हिषः । आयातं रुद्रवर्तनी ॥

(R. V. I 3, 3)

युवां गोतमः पुरुमीह्लो अत्रिर्दस्रा हवतेवसे हविष्मान् ।
दिशं न दिष्टामृजूयेवयन्ता मे हवं नासत्योपयातम् ॥

(*ibid*, I 183, 5)

In the following Ṛks *dasrā* and *nāsatyā* are used as elliptic duals:—

दस्रा हि विश्वमानुषङ्मक्षूभिः परिदीयथः

(R. V. VIII 26, 6)

नासत्या कुहचित्सन्तौ ।

(*ibid*, I 184, 1)

In course of time *dasrāu* and *nāsatyāu* which are dual in form should have been mistaken to refer to the two *aśvins*. This, it seems, should have taken place long before Yāskaś time since we find the following statement in Yāska's *Nirukta*.

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1. प्रमित्रयोर्वरुणयोः स्तामो न एतु शूष्यः :

(R. V. VII, 66, 1)

वित्रावरुणयोर्भाग रथ

(A. V. X 5, 12)

मित्रावरुणाभ्यां त्वा

(V. S. VII, 9)

2. द्यावा च यत्र पीपयन्नहा च (R. V.VII. 65, 2)

पुनर्ये चक्रुः पितरा युवाना ।

(*ibid*, IV 33, 3)

आ मातरा भरति

(*ibid*, IV 22, 4)

मातरापितरा नू चिदिष्टौ

(*ibid*, IV 6, 7)

3. नासत्या and दस्रा were used as duals in vedas side by side with नासत्यौ and दस्रौ, The former pair have become obsolete.

सत्यावेव नासत्यौ इति और्णनाभः
सत्यस्य प्रणेतारौ इति आग्रायणः

It is a surprise to note that *Sāyaṇa* who quotes the line

नासत्यश्चैव दस्रश्च यौ तु तावश्विनाविति

under 541, 53 in the Atharvaveda says under I, 3, 3 in the Ṛgveda

दस्रौ – शत्रूणामुपक्षयितारौ, यद्वा देववैद्यत्वेन रोगाणामुपक्षयितारौ.

Perhaps this may be due to the fact that the author of the bhāṣya of the Ṛgveda may have been different from that of the Atharvaveda.

The causes for the semantic change of *nāsatyāu* and *dasrāu* mentioned above will, I hope, serve as a point for scrutiny by scholars.

ON THE AFFINITY BETWEEN A TERRACOTTA FIGURINE OF THE INDUS VALLEY AGE AND A STONE-SCULPTURE OF THE MAURYA AGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

BY

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It is well-known that the stone-sculptures of the Maurya age, which have been discovered uptil now, may be divided into two classes, *viz.*, (a) the sculptures made according to indigenous tradition and (b) the sculptures in which the extra-Indian element is distinctly prominent. Among all the sculptures belonging to the first group there are the following specimens which are most noteworthy, *viz.*, the Patna headless male figure[1], the Patna male figure[2], the Parkham male figure[3], the Didarganj female figure[4], and the Besnagar female figure[5]. If anybody carefully makes a comparative study of the modelling and the linear, composition of these figures

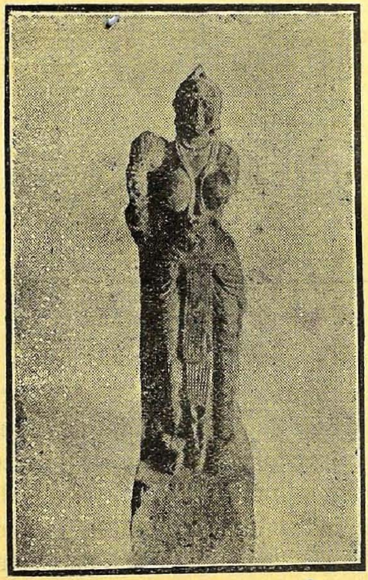

Fig. 1.

1. Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, pl. 10, the left fig.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. 10, the right fig.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, pl. 9
5. Hist. Ind. Indonesian Art. By A. K. Coomaraswamy, pl. III, no. 8. Messrs. Coomaraswamy (*Ibid.*, p. 16) and Kramrisch (Indian Sculpture, p. 10) ascribe this specimen to the Maurya age but Dr. Bachhofer (*op. cit.*, pp. XXVIII, 39) has ascribed it to the Śuṅga age.

he will find that they are bound by a tie of fundamental similarity. The origin of these specimens was wrapped up in obscurity until recent time; but with the discovery of the plastic art of the Indus valley age there have arisen a number of new and important data which throw a great deal of light on this problem. For example, Dr. Kramrisch has shown that there is a fundamental affinity between the two abovementioned Patna male figures and the Harappa male torso of the Indus Valley age and has concluded that "the majestic portliness of the two headless figures from Patna (Fig. 2) is directly derived from the tenser bodily vigour of the Harappa statuette.[1]" The object of this short note is to show that there is fundamental affinity between the Didarganj female figure of the Maurya age and one Mohenjo-daro terracotta female figurine of the Indus Valley age, that the Didarganj female figure may be said to have been derived from the Mohenjo-daro terracotta female figurine and the technique of the Indus Valley pre-Maurya age.

Fig. 2.

Let us describe these two specimens one by one. The Didarganj female figure was discovered in a place of the same name in Patna district in Bihar. It is a monolithic sculpture

1. Indian Sculpture, p. 9. Dr. Kramrisch has called both specimens as headless; but, as has been shown above, one of these two specimens is headless and the other has the head preserved. Further if we make a comparative study of the modelling and the linear composition of the two Patna male figures and the Parkham male figure, we shall conclude that they are bound by fundamental similarity and consequently belong to the same class. Therefore the above remark of Dr. Kramrisch regarding the relation of the Harappa male torso to the Patna male figures is also applicable to the Parkham male figure.

representing a standing female figure. Its left arm is mutilated. Its upper body is bare but its lower body is clothed. Its hair is beautifully dressed. It has open eyes, clearly marked eye-brows, sensitive lips and developed breasts. It wears the highly ornamental head-dress, ear-rings, necklace, wristlet, waist-belt, and anklet. There is a fan-like thing in the right hand. (Figs. 1 & 2).[1]

The Mohenjo-daro female figurine was unearthed in a place of the same name in Larkana district in Sind. Regarding the actual findspot of this specimen Dr. Mackay remarks that it has been "found 2 feet below surface in Chamber 15, House IV, Block two Section B, DK Area."[2] Sir John Marshall has shown that the seven strata from 1 foot to 39 feet below the present surface-level at Mohenjo-daro belong to the Indus Valley age[3]. From the above-mentioned statement of Dr. Mackay it is understood that this figurine has been found two feet below surface at Mohenjo-daro. Therefore it may rightly be ascribed to the Indus Valley age. It represents a standing female figurine whose arms and lower body are mutilated. Its upper body is bare but there is a loin-cloth round the waist. It has round eyes, clearly marked eye-brows, broad nose and developed breasts. It wears a head-dress, ear-rings, necklace, armlet and girdle (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3.

1. As the Mohenjo-daro terracotta female figurine is broken from a little above the knee, an illustration of the Didarganj female figure upto a little above the knee (fig. 2) has been intentionally reproduced in order to show distinctly the fundamental similarity between these two specimens.

2. Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation. Edited by J. Marshall, Vol. I, p. 346, Vol. III, pl. XCIV, 14.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 124.

A comparative study of these two specimens shows that there is a fundamental affinity between them. If we make a comparative study of the linear composition of both these specimens, we find the following points of affinity. Firstly, in both these specimens there is a curve, in each end of the chest, which extends from the shoulder-end to the waist-end. It is this curve which has made the waist slim and the buttocks heavy. Secondly, the shoulder-line of both these specimens is slightly curved. If we make a comparative study of the modelling of both these specimens, we find that the modelling of breasts of both these specimens is similar. Let us now make a comparative study of the ornaments worn by these two specimens. Both have the head-dress, ear-rings, necklace and girdle. It is true that there is some stylistic difference so far as the ornaments of each specimen are concerned; but, in this connection, the remarkable affinity between these two specimens, so far as the placing of the necklaces is concerned, is to be carefully noted. The Mohenjo-daro figurine wears five necklaces. One of them is dog-collared, the second flows over the chest, the third and the fourth flow over the chest between the breasts and the fifth flows over the breasts. The Didarganj figure, on the other hand, wears three necklaces. One of them is dog-collared and the other two flow over the chest between the breasts. The fact that some necklaces flow over the chest between the breasts in both these specimens is extremely important and show that there is fundamental similarity between these two specimens.

It is evident from the above discussion that the Didarganj female figure is possibly derived from the Mohenjo-daro female figurine. It is also important to note that there is a marked development in the linear composition and the modelling of the Didarganj female figure. This is quite natural as it belongs to a later age. Mohenjo-daro is situated in Larkana district in Sind in Western India and Didarganj is situated in Patna district in Bihar in Eastern India. Therefore from the evidence supplied by the fundamental affinity between the Mohenjo-daro female figurine and the Didarganj female figure and the find-spot of these two specimens it should be plausibly concluded that the technique of the Indus Valley sculpture penetrated into Eastern India in the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age.

AUTHOR OF THE ANUNYĀSA

BY

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The Anunyāsa is now known to us only through references to it in such later works as the Durghaṭavṛtti, the Jñāpaka-samuccaya, etc. I am not aware of the existence of a Ms. of this work. If it exists in any private collection, it has not yet come to light. A wrong view that it is identical with the Tantrapradīpa, a work of Maitreyarakṣita, is current among scholars. Aufrecht in his C.C. Vol. I, p. 16, has the following entry with regard to this.

"अनुन्यास or तन्त्रप्रदीप (q. v.),

a C. on Jinendra's Kāśikāvivararaṇapañcikā by Maitreyacrakṣita. . . . ."

In his Introduction to the Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā (Nyāsa) p. 19, Srish Chandra Chakravarti says: "Some say that this तन्त्रप्रदीप is probably identical with the Anunyāsa. माधवाचार्य often refers to it by the name of वृत्तिप्रदीप after the भाष्यप्रदीप by कैयट". On the other hand, Dr. Belvalkar, in his Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 39 n., says that he has not been able to verify the fact that Maitreyarakṣita has written a commentary on the Nyāsa. There is no mention of the Anunyāsa here and the problem of its identity with the Tantrapradīpa thus does not seem to have arisen for Dr. Belvalkar. I am here concerned only with the authorship of the Anunyāsa and not with the works which Maitreyarakṣita wrote. As regards the latter, I shall give all the available evidence in a separate paper.

There are some grammatical works which, having been superseded by better ones, are now scarcely read even by students of Vyākaraṇa, a fact which explains the loss of some early works. One such work is Sīradeva's Paribhāṣāvṛtti which, having been superseded by Nāgeśa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara, is not now popular. The Paribhāṣāvṛtti was published in

the Benares Sanskrit Series, 1887. Sīradeva is quoted in Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti of the 15th century and himself quotes Puruṣottamadeva (pp. 19, 165 and 175 of the Benaras ed.) of the 12th century. He has therefore to be dated in the 13th century. Dr. Belvalkar (*Ibid.*, p. 55) gives the lower limit but not the upper one which is given here for the first time.

The Paribhāṣāvṛtti contains evidence that the Anunyāsa is not the work of Maitreyarakṣita but of Indu, a grammarian who is quoted in the Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti also. In two places in this work, the Anunyāsakāra and Maitreyarakṣita are mentioned as holding rival views on certain points. These are the following:—

अत एव "उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्" (१-३-२) इत्यतो "लशक्वतद्धिते" (१-२-८) इत्यत्रेद्ग्रहणानुवृत्तावप्यनुनासिकग्रहणं नानुवर्तते । उपदेशग्रहणानुवर्तनं प्रति रक्षितानुन्यासयोर्विवाद एव । तथा हि गाङ्कुटादि (१-२-१) सूत्रेऽनुन्यासकारेणोक्तम्—आदेशपक्ष इद्ग्रहणमनर्थकम् ; आदेर्हि भवतो "लशक्वतद्धिते" (१-३-८) इत्यनेनैवेत्संज्ञायाः सिद्धत्वादित्यादि । रक्षितेन तूक्तमादिभूतो ङकारः.................. ॥

(Pp. 28—29)

अत एव "आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः" (३-२-४५) इत्यत्र यदुक्तं न्यासकृता—घञं सारूप्याद्बाधते खच् । ल्युट्प्रत्ययः पुनर्वासरूपविधिना भवत्येव । आशितंभवम्, आशितभवनम्—इति तदुपपद्यते । एतस्मिन् वाक्ये इन्दुमैत्रेययोः शाश्वतिको विरोधः । तथा हि प्रत्ययसूत्रेऽनुन्यासकार उक्तवान् प्रतियन्त्यनेनार्थानिति प्रत्ययः । एरच् (३-३-५६) इत्यच् । पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण (३-३-११८) इति वा घ इति । मैत्रेयः पुनराह—पुंसि संज्ञायाम् (३-३-११८) इति घप्रत्यय एव । एरच् (३-३-५६) इत्यच्प्रत्ययस्तु, करणे ल्युटा बाधितत्वान्न शक्यते कर्तुम् । न च वासरूपविधिरस्ति, क्तल्युडित्यादिवचनात् .... ॥

(P. 79)

From these statements it is evident that Maitreyarakṣita and Indu were two different persons, that both commented upon the Nyāsa and that it is the commentary of Indu which is called Anunyāsa.

There appear to have been many authors of the name or surname Rakṣita, but only two of them are definitely known to have been grammarians. Maitreyarakṣita and Sarvarakṣita. The latter is connected with the Durghaṭavṛtti of Śaraṇadeva and is later than the former, *i,e.*, Maitreyarakṣita. Aufrecht, C.C. I, 482, mentions also one Śākyarakṣita and one Aparājita-rakṣita, both poets. From the distinct references in the Durghaṭavṛtti to the Anunyāsakāra and Sarvarakṣita, it is obvious that this Rakṣita has no connection with the Anunyāsa. In fact, I have not come across anything which might wrongly associate a Rakṣita with this work and am at a loss to know how the wrong view gained ground.

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRĪYA PRĀTIŚĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, M.A.

Poona

(*Continued from page* 309, *Vol. XIV*)

This conjecture seemed to be prompted by the fact that Haug in a communication from India to the journal of the German Oriental Society (lleber die Vedis-chen Accente Von Dr. Haug. ZDMG, Vol. XVII, 1863, p. 799 ff.) wrote that the modern Hindu writers of the Veda give tonic distinction only to the syllables that have the accent signs, the *svarita* and *anudātta* so that the *udātta* appears to be no accent at all, and is entirely confounded with the toneless *pracaya*—thus, under the influence of the mode of written designation, turning topsyturvy, as it were, the whole system of spoken accent.

Whitney's remarks in his article "On the Nature and Designation of the Accent in Sanskrit" in Transactions of the American Philological Association 1869—70 (pages 37—39), I reproduce here "Is the mode of designation posterior to the theory? Did the Hindus leave the *pracaya* grave syllables unmarked, like acute, because they gave them the tone of acute, so that the identity of treatment is due to a perceived identity of character? Or, on the other hand, was the omission of a part of the marks indicating grave tone made for the sake of convenience, of brevity, and is the theory an afterthought, suggested by the identity of designation, and aiming to establish a corresponding identity of character?

"The obstacle in the way of our accepting the doctrine of the *pracaya-accent* is the seeming impossibility of working it in as a part of the general accentual system."

"The acute is a syllable which is accented or rendered conspicuous by being lifted above the lower or grave tone of utterance, but what does this distinction amount to, if the grave syllables are also to be raised, even in masses, to the same level? What a strange grave tone is that which can only

maintain itself by the help of an immediately following acute. What are we to think of the independent circumflex, made by the combination of an acute and grave element, when the grave syllable, even without the encouragement of an acute joined with it, can hardly be laid down at grave pitch, but is constantly rising to the higher plane of utterance? Yet worse, what sort of an enclitic accent is that which leads down the voice from acute pitch, no whither, since, the moment the transition is past, the voice leaps back again to acute?

The last of these difficulties, and the most insurmountable of them, seems to have been felt by the Hindu theorizers themselves, who have made a very curious attempt to avoid it: namely, by shifting the circumflex itself to a higher plane."

But I hear from scholars like Mr. P. S. Sundaram Aiyar of Tanjore that this is not the case and on the other hand there are well-read Sanskrit scholars—*Śrautins*—in the south, who are able to distinguish clearly the *udātta* from *pracaya* in utterance.

Suppose we represent empirically *anudātta* by $\frac{1}{2}$ and *udātta* by 1, then in the independent circumflex, if we take it as a whole, it will have to be represented by $1\frac{1}{2}$; but if we analyse the circumflex into its constituents then it would come to be represented by $1+\frac{1}{2}$. Hence is Pāṇini's sūtra

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् (P. I, 2, 32)[1].

It is therefore natural that the first part of the *svarita* rises to a higher plane of utterance in *saṁhitā* (continued utterance) than the *udātta*, while the second part is uttered at the level of acute and although, in the pre-vedic period, the enclitic *svarita*, might perhaps have been a middle tone, during the historical period, it certainly came to be identified with the independent circumflex.

As the acute is a syllable which is accented or rendered conspicuous by being lifted above the lower or grave tone of

1. Compare, "simple tones are dull. When they are compared with compound tones of the same pitch, we are inclined to estimate the compound as belonging to a higher octave than the simple tones."

Vide Helmholtz, The Sensations of Tone, page 62.

utterance, it came to be viewed as possessing उत्क्षिप्तविशिष्ट उदात्त-श्रुति. But प्रचय syllables came to be considered as being uttered in उत्क्षिप्ताविशिष्ट उदात्तश्रुति. It is quite plausible that this kind of tonic distinction between उदात्त and प्रचय was made by the vedic chanters in India even in the very earliest times.

As I have already shown, modern practice also strictly conforms to the theory put forward in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya according to which प्रचय (being the Keynote—धृत) is easily distinguishable from *udātta*.

Thus it is seen that a definite concept of keynote is met with in the history of Indian Music, as early as the composition of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.

Addenda

I. We have seen that in the XVIIIth Chapter of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, there is the citation of the opinions of various authorities as to the mode of utterance of the sacred syllable *Om*.

In that connection, it is interesting to remember that Maurice Bloomfield (JAOS, Vol. 14, Proceedings 1889, Pages cli—clii) regards *Om* as *O* with nasalised utterance of the last vowel due to *pluti*. Pāṇini 8, 2, 67 (ओमभ्यादाने) says that the word was pronounced with *pluti* at the beginning (of books, chapters); to this long drawn utterance may be ascribed the nasal, which afterwards was felt as an organic part of the word, and treated as an independent *m*. M. Bloomfied (l.c.) identifies the word with *aù* (*aù—Ti*, *aù—tis*, *aù—this*, Latin *au—t*, *au—tem*, Gothic *au—k*, and others): the meaning would be something like 'now then, well now,' German '*abso*; *nun also*'. Scholars like Hick (Bezzenberger's Beitrage, Vol. VII Inschrift Von Larisa in Thessalien, p. 279) and Osthoff (Morph. Unt. IV, 253; zur geschichte des Perpectums p. 328) regard *ai aù* as the *tonic* from corresponding to the particle *u* in *panu*. M. Bloomfield (*op. cit.*) thinks that *u*, the common vedic enclitic particle, holds the same relation to *om* as *u* to *aù*. This scholar attaches absolutely no significance to the fact that *u* is always written *ūm* by the padapāṭhas, Ṛv., Av., Vs. and regards it as a curious coincidence. The pada text of

Ṛ̣V. VII, 63, 2 reads *ut* | *ūm iti* | *eti* | while the krama text reads *udveti*. Again the pada text of Ṛv, I. 50, | reads *ut* | *ūm iti* | *tyam* | *jāta-vedasam* while the krama text reads *udu tyam ūm ityum* | *tyam jāta-vedasam* | Cp. also Ṛv. I, 61, 5; 6; 7; 8; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15.

Also *nū* ३ *ṣu=nū* | *um iti sú* (Ṛv. I, 53, 1.

[*Cf*. Dyā Dviveda's comments on this:

इकारयोश्च प्रश्लेषे क्षैप्रातिक्षैप्रसन्धित्वात् (Ṛk Prāt. III, 13.)

स्वरितं कृत्वा 'जात्योऽभिनिहित:' (Ṛk Prāt. III, 34.)

इति कम्पः । उकारो व्रजस्य सुधा इति उकारस्य दीर्घस्वबह्वक्षरेणेति (Ṛk Prāt. V, 5.)

षत्वम् *Vide.*

"Nītimañjarī" ed. by Sitaram Jayaram Joshi, Benares Hindu University, p. 36.]

(It is to be remarked in this connection that the enclitic *u* like the enclitic particles *ca* and *vā* certainly goes back to the primitive Indo-Germanic period. Compare, Brugmann: Grundris: English Translation, Vol. I, Sec. 672, p. 538).

[Cp. ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् (P. I, 1, 11.)

संबुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे (P. I, 1, 16.)

उञः (P. I, 1, 17)

ऊँ (17. P. I, 1, 18.)

"According to Śākalya, ऊँ is substituted for उञ् (*i.e.* the particle उ) before an इति that does not come from Ṛṣi. This ऊँ is termed pragṛhya."

This like the last rule is verifiable in the Padapāṭha of the Ṛv. and Av., where the particle उ is replaced by ऊँ इति. Sv. and Ts. Pp., treat this matter differently, and Vs. Pp. has ऊँ इति ऊँ. The more reason we have to insist on iti, that Pāṇini quotes Śākalya as the author particularly of the Ṛv. See Pāṇini and the veda studies in the Early History of Linguistic Science in India by Dr. Paul Thieme Allahabad 1935, p. 5.]

But M. Bloomfield believes that the assumption that the separate, non-syntactic, emphatic of such a word is *o* would

naturally lead to a nasalized utterance is duly supported. Cp. also Whitney, Skr. Gram. 278*a*. [Cp. Bezzenberger's Beitrage Vol. 15, p. 296 for *pluta*. See also for the marking of accent in the Sāma Veda with regard to the word *Om*, Wāckernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Goltingen (1896) Vol. I, p. 286. "In the Sāma Veda, the sacred syllable *O*३*m* has only two lines the number 1 (*udātta*) before the deep-toned syllable, instead of following the general rule of having number 2 (*svarita.*)]

II. Whitney assumes from the word आक्षिप्त in the sūtra आक्षिप्तं स्वरितं (Av. Prāt. I, 16 JAOS, Vol. 7, p. 349.) that the concept of tonic was known from very ancient times. However European scholars have been misled sometimes by the exaggerated emphasis they lay on the fact that स्वरित is a melodic trill or cadence.

A telling instance to illustrate my point is the following: In Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I, 13, 2) we meet with the statement प्राणः स्वरः (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit series, p. 76).

Śaṅkara's gloss is as follows on this:

स्वर इति स्तोभः प्राणस्य च स्वरहेतुत्वसामान्यात्

Svara is not mentioned in Stobha List. (Bibliotheca Indica. Vol. II, p. 519—542, ed. by Satyavrata Samaśram.) From this fact and from the known fact that *svarita* is the trill or melodic cadence, Prof. B. Faddegon (Acta Orientalia Vol. V Ritualistic Dādaism, pp. 189—195) Amsterdam, equates *svara* in the passage with *svarita* and characterizes Śaṅkara's commentary to be untrustworthy. Faddegon is clearly wrong and I reproduce below the correct interpretation of the statement स्वरः इति स्तोभः as given by my revered Professor Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Śāstrigal:—"Śaṅkara's statement स्वर इति स्तोभः has to be interpreted in the light of the tradition, which is preserved even in an age much later than Śaṅkara in Sāyaṇa's observation in the course of the latter's explanation of the Tāṇḍyabrāhmaṇa text—'स्वारं भवति' (7, 3, 25, p. 237, Kasi Sanskrit Series No. 105). Sāyaṇa says:—

'अत्र (औशनसाम्नि) अन्त्यमक्षरं स्वरयित्वा समापितं हाईकारश्च ।
द्वयमपि रूढ्या स्वर इति व्यपदिश्यते ।
अत्र हाईकारप्रसङ्गादुक्तार्थनिश्चयः ।'

It is clear from this that, when Śaṅkara says 'स्वरः इति स्तोभः' he should be understood to refer to the *dādaism* 'हाई' which bears the technical name 'स्वर' and he should not be understood as referring to the sound-group 'स्वरः' as a *dādaism.* Sāyaṇa clearly says that the last syllable of the chant in question and the *dādaism* 'हाई' are both of them characterized by स्वरित and that both of them bear the technical name स्वर. The particular meditation (*upāsanā*) which is taught in the Chāndogya text 'प्राणः स्वरः,' as explained by Śaṅkara, is that the *dādaism* 'हाई' in its special phase of being denoted by the technical name स्वर should be meditated upon as *prāṇa.* Professor Faddegon's criticism, therefore, that Śaṅkara is making a technical mistake and that he is untrustworthy in technical matters, must be characterized as a rash and ill-informed indignity offered to one of the greatest masters of vedic tradition. In fact, Professor Faddegon's remarks betray a confusion between the technical name 'स्वर' and the term 'स्वर' in the sense of (musical cadence) or 'accent.' It may also be noted by the way that the meditation taught in the previous text 'वायुर्हाईकारः' requires the use of the *dādaism* 'हाई' as symbol (प्रतीक), in its specific form as a sound-group consisting of 'हा' and 'ई'; and that the meditation taught in the text 'प्राणः स्वरः' requires the use of the *dādaism* 'हाई' as symbol (प्रतीक), in its particular form as denoted by the technical name 'स्वर', and not as consisting of 'हा' and 'ई' "

DATE OF THE PRĀYAŚCITTA-CANDRIKĀ OF VIŚVANĀTHABHAṬṬA, SON OF NARASIMHA DĪKṢITA—BEFORE A.D. 1543.

BY

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Prof. P. V. Kane makes the following remarks about a work on dharmaśāstra called the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā*:—

"प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by विश्वनाथभट्ट ; mentioned by दिवाकर in his प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका and in स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार ॥"[1]

As Prof. Kane assigns Divākara (Kāla) to the priod A.D. 1620 to 1670, we may assign Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* to a date earlier than A.D. 1600.

Aufrecht[2] makes the following entries regarding the *Śrautaprāyaścitta-Candrikā* (same as *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* mentioned by Prof. Kane) :—

"श्रौतप्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका—

Baudh. by Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, son of Narasimha Dīkṣita.

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1. *History of Dharmaśāstra* (=*HD*) Vol. I (1930), p. 591.

P. 591.—" प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर Surnamed काल ".

P. 594.—" प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर son of महादेव Surnamed काल. Also called स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त and स्मार्तनिष्कृतिपद्धति (*vide* Baroda O.I. 133, 1543, 1663)".

P. 703.—" दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर Surnamed काल (काले in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्णभट्ट father of कमलाकर, *About 1620—1670 A.D.*, Author of दानचन्द्रिका (or दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका) आह्निकचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका, स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार, पातितत्यागविधि, पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग."

2. *CCI*, 677 ; CC II, 161.

IO. 1572,[1] L. 165, K. 188, B. 3, 108.[2]

Ben. 8, NW. 18, Sūcīpatra 36—"Stein 21."[3]

As the Jammu MS of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* is dated Saṁvat 1656 or A.D. 1600, the date of composition of the work is evidently much earlier than A.D. 1600 but we have no means of determining the earlier limit exactly.

In the *Catalogue*[4] *of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Punjab University,* however, there is a dated MS of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* which appears to me to be the oldest dated MS of this work. It is dated *Saṁvat 1599*=A.D. 1543[5] as will be seen from the following Colophon[6] appearing on its last folio :—

"इति श्रीनृसिंहदीक्षित सूनु विश्वनाथ विरचिता श्रौत प्रायश्चित्त-चन्द्रिका समाप्ता ॥ संवत् १५९९ समऐ पौषवदि १३ चन्द्रकह पुस्तक लिषा ॥ श्रीविश्वनाथाय नमः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥"

If the above date is correct, we are in a position to push back the date of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* before A.D. 1540, if not earlier.

The chronological data recorded above may now be tabulated as follows :—

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1. *Vide* p. 91 of Part I of *IO Sanskrit MSS Cata.* (1887) MS No. 15726—"written, in Devanāgarī, in the *latter part of the 17th Century.*"

2. *Vide* p. 108 of Buhler's Fascicle. III of Cata. of MSS in Private Libraries (1872). The MS No. 239 of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका of विश्वनाथभट्ट is dated 1756 (Saṁvat)=A.D. 1700.

3. *Vide* p. 21 of Stēin's *Cata of Jammu MSS* (1894), MS No. 2556 of श्रौतप्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका is dated Saṁavt 1556=(A. D. 1600.)

4. Vol. I (1932), *Page 55*—[" 452 प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका (बौधायन) by विश्वनाथ, नृसिंहदीक्षितपुत्र, 50 leaves, 1000 Granthas—" सं 1599 "]

5. The date corresponds to *Wednesday, 3rd January* 1543 (*vide* p. 288 of *Indian Ephemeris,* Vol. V).

6. I am thankful to the Librarian, Punjab University Library, Lahore, for his kindness in sending me a copy of this Colophon.

A.D.	Reference.
1543	Date of Punjab University MS of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* (=*PC*).
1600	Date of Jammu MS of the *PC*.
Between 1620 and 1670	Divākara mentions the *PC* in his *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā*.
C. 1650 —1700	Probable age of the India Office MS of the *PC*.
1700	Date of a MS of the *PC* mentioned by Buhler (Fascicle III).

On the strength of the above data, I am inclined to believe that the *PC* by Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa may have been composed before A.D. 1500 as we have the oldest dated MS of the work copied in Saṁvat 1599 or A.D. 1543.

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